2: Schaden--34 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

361

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the fiandéru, doctor-sorcerer, 361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of 621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family 596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re- 178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová 178 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small 184 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. • 592 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis- 621 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
•592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE PRESENT BASIC PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION UNIT OF SOCIETY

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first.

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[139] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production.

The *tapâi* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapâi*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapâi* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household.

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puĩrão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cãuĩ* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire-

[139] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as [602] sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4 Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming.

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Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture.

178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[31] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture

592 156 178 476

[31] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
[342] like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[596] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[594] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by, and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families, which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.